

A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for the History of Indian Medicine

The *Brahmajāla*- and *Sāmaññaphala*-suttas of the *Dīghanikāya* have the following almost identical passage on wrongful livelihood (*micchājīva*), based on "low (literally beastly) sciences"¹ (*tiracchānavijjā*), shunned by Buddha Gotama:

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikam kappenti - seyyathidaṃ **santikammaṃ paṇidhikammaṃ bhūrikammaṃ vassakammaṃ vossakammaṃ vatthukammaṃ vatthuparikiraṇam ācamaṇam nahāpanam juhanam vamanam virecanaṃ uddhavirecanaṃ adhovirecanaṃ sisavirecanaṃ kaṇṇatelaṃ nettatappaṇam natthukammaṃ añjanaṃ paccañjanaṃ sālākiyaṃ sallakattikaṃ dārakatikicchā mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkho** - iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo ti." Iti vā hi bhikkhave puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇam vadamāno vadeyya.²

¹ Cf. meaning of the Skt equivalent *vidyā* given in Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*: knowledge, science, learning, scholarship, philosophy... (according to some there are four Vidyās or sciences, 1. *trayī*, the triple Veda; 2. *ānvikshikī*, logic and metaphysics; 3. *daṇḍa-nīti*, the science of government; 4. *vārttā*, practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, medicine etc....)

² DN, Mahāsāla, i.1.27, cf. *Ibid.* ii.62; DB, pp.25-6; CBP, p.11. On the importance of the two suttas, see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature including the canonical literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden 1983, p.33.

In this passage, the words indicated in bold refer to medical practices dealt with in āyurvedic texts. These terms are discussed below from the philological point of view, and their significance for the history of Indian medicine is pointed out at the end. In this discussion, it will be noticed that data found in āyurvedic texts help in elucidating and clarifying the meanings of the terms involved, especially *santikamma*, *bhūrikamma*, *ācamana*, *nahāpana*, *paccañjana*, *sālākiya*, *mūlabhesajja* and *osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkha*. The translations given in the *Sv*, the *DB* and the *CBP* are quoted separately in each case for the sake of comparison. It will be seen that most of the interpretations of the *Sv* agree with the meanings in the āyurvedic texts and help clarify the meanings especially in the case of *mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ* and *osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkha*. Of the *DB* and the *CBP*, most of the latter's interpretations are more exact and precise than those of the former. Both texts seem to err especially with regard to the interpretation of *sālākiya*, *mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ* and *osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkha*.

(1) *santikamma* (S., Skt *śāntikarma*) is explained in the *Sv* as fulfilling a vow to a god (*devatṭhānaṃ gantvā "Sace me idaṃ nāma samijjhati tumhākaṃ iminā ca iminā ca upahāraṃ karissāmi"*, *samiddhakāle kātabbaṃ santi-paṭissava-kammaṃ*). However, *śānti-karma* (propitiatory rites, literally acts of appeasement), along with *bali* (offering of oblations), is mentioned in the *Suśr* (Sū 1.4) in the explanation of *bhūtavidyā*, the fourth of the eight branches of Āyurveda,³ the purpose of which is counteracting the "possession" (*graha*) of minds

³ The *aṣṭāṅga* in Āyurveda are: *śalya* (surgical knowledge with special reference to the extraction of foreign bodies), *sālākya* (treatment of diseases in the region over the clavicle), *kāyacikitsā* (treatment of general diseases), *bhūtavidyā* (knowledge of diseases caused by supernatural beings: mental disorders), *kaumārabhr̥tya* (paediatrics), *agadatantra* (toxicology), *rasāyanatantra* (geriatrics) and *vājīkaraṇatantra* (viriligenics). *Suśr* Sū 1.7.

by various categories of *bhūtas* (Devas, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piṭṛs, Piśācas, Nāgas).⁴ *Śāntikarma* was thus a kind of white magic.

In spite of the chronological gap in relation to the texts under discussion, it is interesting to note that in Sri Lanka, the term *śāntikarma*, sometimes simply *śāntiya*, is still used in the sense of white magic, in reference to two types of ceremonies: "*bali*" and "*tovil*". The first is a propitiatory ceremony performed to counter the evil effects of the planets. The second is also a propitiatory ceremony, but coupled with exorcism of evil spirits called *yakṣas*. The term "*bali*" (oblations) is used more or less in the same sense as in the Sanskrit. But "*graha*" in the sense of "possession" or "seizure" applies rather to the *tovil* ceremonies. However, "*graha*" meaning planets, in the context of *bhūtavidyā* of the Sanskrit texts, occurs in another definition quoted in the *Vśss*.⁵

(2) *bhūrikamma*: In the *DN*, the reading [*bhūtikammaṃ*] is suggested by the editors, who give *bhūta-* as a variant reading (from MS in Burmese characters in the Phayre Collection at the India Office) in a footnote.⁶ If the reading *bhūtakammaṃ* is admitted, it corresponds to *bhūtavidyā* discussed above. However, *bhūrikammaṃ* is the term found in the *Sv* which interprets it as "*bhūrighare vasitvā gahitamantassa*

⁴ *bhūtavidyā nāma devāsura-gandharva-yakṣa-rakṣaḥ-piṭṛ-piśāca-nāga-grahādy upasr̥ṣṭa-cetasāṃ śāntikarma-baliḥaraṇādi-grahopasamanārtham*. *Suśr* Sū 1.7.iv. The tr. of *santikammaṃ* in the *CBP*, "les pratiques magiques en vue d'apaiser les esprits" (magical practices in view of appeasing spirits) agrees with that meaning of *bhūtavidyā*. The *DB* follows the meaning given in the *Sv*: "Vowing gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted".

⁵ *grahabhūtapiśācāś ca - śākinīḍākinīgrahāḥ!*

eteṣāṃ nigrahaḥ samyak - bhūtavidyā nigadyate// quoted in the *Vśss*, p.752.

⁶ *bhūrikamma* is translated as "repeating charms while lodging in an earth house", in the *DB* and as "garder sa maison" (taking care of or staying in one's house) in the *CBP*.

payogakaraṇam." Professor Richard F Gombrich points out⁷ that Buddhaghosa's reading *bhūri*- in the 5th century A.D. is more authentic than the banalised reading *bhūta*- in a Burmese manuscript of the 18th or 19th century, which cannot represent an old tradition. He further explains that "when a person is seeking supernormal powers (*siddhi*), he gets an initiation (*dikṣā*) at which he receives a *mantra*. The next stage is known as *puraścaraṇa* or 'preliminary action'; he has to practise what he has been taught, for example by reciting his mantra a fixed (large) number of times. This he does while staying in seclusion." Taking this to be the practice referred to by Buddhaghosa, Professor Gombrich translates the gloss on *bhūri*- as "staying in a house and practising the mantra one has received"; he suggests that *bhūrikamma* means "repetition (of a mantra)".

(3) *vassakamma*, promotion of virility, is explained in the *Sv* as derived from "vasso" meaning "man" (*Ettha vasso ti puriso*). Rev. R. Morris traces Pāli "vassa" to Skt "varṣa", from √vr̥ṣ. In comparison, he cites Skt *varṣadhara* and Pāli *vassavara*, "an eunuch".⁸ It would be more correct to retain in this context the meaning, "to have manly power, generative vigour" of √vr̥ṣ, as shown in Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, on the basis of the *Dhātupāṭha*. In fact, the Skt adjectival form *vr̥ṣya*, "productive of sexual vigour", occurs frequently in āyurvedic texts.⁹ In that sense, it corresponds to *vājīkaraṇa*¹⁰, the last

⁷Personal communication dated 23/07/1995.

⁸Notes and queries, *JPTS* 1889, p.208.

⁹Cf. *kaidārā madhurā vr̥ṣyā balyāḥ pittanibarhaṇāḥ/*

iṣat kaṣāyālpamalā guravaḥ kaphaśukralāḥ// *Suśr* Sū 46.17.

¹⁰Toḍaramalla explains *vājī* as *śukra* (semen) and its production in a person as *vājīkaraṇa*. Bhagwan Dash and Lalitesh Kashyap, *Basic principles of Āyurveda based on Āyurveda saukhyam of Toḍarānanda*, New Delhi 1980, p.60. The other interpretation is sexual vigour, similar to that of a horse (*vājī*): *yad dravyam puruṣam vājivat surataḥsamam karoti tad vājīkaṇam ucyate*. *Vś*, p.953. (Rājā Toḍaramalla of Oudh was a Minister to the Moghul Emperor Akbar, 16th

Continues...

branch of the *aṣṭāṅga*, described as the therapy promoting the increase, purification, accumulation and ejaculation of semen which is scanty, vitiated, deficient and dried up, and also causing pleasure (in men who are thus treated).¹¹

(4) *ācamana*: The term occurs in the *Suśr* (Śā 2.13) as a means of treating vitiated menstrual blood. The commentary explains the term as "water for washing the vagina" with the additional note: "made with drugs removing *doṣas* like *vāta* etc."¹² The *Vś* explains *ācamana* as "rinsing of the mouth at the end of a meal".¹³ Probably, the term in our text refers to "mouthwash", "rinsing" or "gargle" mentioned in āyurvedic texts (*mukhapūraṇam*).¹⁴ Two kinds of mouthwash are described: *kavala* and *ganḍūṣa*, the distinction between the two being that in *kavala* the medicinal liquid could be easily rolled in the mouth whereas in *ganḍūṣa* it is the contrary (*Suśr* Ci 40.62, *Ah* Sū 22.11b). The meaning of *ācamana* as mouthwash is supported by the explanation in the *Sv*: *udakena mukhasiddhikaraṇam*.¹⁵

(5) *nahāpana* (Skt *snāna*), bathing, is also recommended in āyurvedic texts as a preventive measure to preserve good health. The *Suśr* (Ci 24.57-60) describes the benefits of bathing and (Ci 24.61-62) gives contraindications. The title of this 24th chapter is worth underlining: *anāgatābādhapraṭiśedha*. *Ḍalhaṇa* explains *anāgata* as

century A.D.. Twenty-three works attributed to him are collectively called Toḍarānanda.)

¹¹*vājīkaraṇatantram nāmālpa-duṣṭa- kṣīṇa-viśuṣka-retasām āpyāyana-pra-sāḍopacaya-janana-nimittam praharṣajanānārtham ca*. *Suśr* Sū 1.8.

¹²*ācamanam yoniprakṣālanodakam, tad api vātādidoṣaharadravyakṛtam*.

¹³*bhojanāntamukhakṣālāne*.

¹⁴*sneha-kṣīra-kaṣāyādi-dravyair mukhāpūraṇam ganḍūṣaḥ*. *Vś*, p.352.

¹⁵The tr. given in the *DB* is "ceremonial rinsings of the mouth"; that in the *CBP*, "rincer la bouche" (rinsing the mouth), is more precise.

īṣadāgataḥ (*anāgata īṣadāgataḥ*, *nañ atra īṣadarthe*, literally "not come", i.e. not apparent), *ābādha* as *duḥkhaṃ vyādhir* (pain, illness) and *pratiṣedha* as *cikitsitam* (remedying). The *Car* (Sū 5.94) also gives in brief the benefits of bathing. As bathing in the canonical passage is given as a craft eschewed by the Buddha, it has to be in that context a medical therapy rather than a part of personal regimen. Hence the Sv interpretation, "bathing others" (*aññesaṃ nahāpanaṃ*). That it was also a medical therapy is corroborated in the *Suśr* statement (under *snāna*) that "In cases of an aggravation of the deranged Vāyu and Kapha, the head may be washed with warm water, as a medicine, after a careful consideration of the intensity of the disease".¹⁶

(6) *vamana*, emetics and (7) *virecana*, purgatives are the two purificatory (*saṃśodhana*) therapies in Āyurveda.¹⁷ Drugs having emetic and purgative properties, their administration, diseases for which the two therapies are effective etc. are treated, for instance, in *Suśr* Sū 39, Cī 33 and 34; *Car* Sū 15 and *Ah* Sū 18.

(8) *uddhavirecana* (cleansing from the upper part of the body, i.e. emetics), (9) *adhovirecana* (cleansing from the lower part of the body, i.e. purgation) and (10) *sirovirecana* (= a kind of *nasya*, cleansing from the head, i.e. errhines or administration of medicinal substances through the nose, see footnote 18 below) form part of *vamana* and *virecana*. Ḍalhaṇa explains: *ūrdhvaḥgāharāṇi vamanakarāṇī*

¹⁶ Bhishagratna's tr. Italics are mine.

śleṣmāmārutakope tu nātvā vyādhībālābalaṃ/

kāmam uṣṇaṃ śiraḥsnānaṃ bhaiṣajyārthaṃ samācāret// Suśr Cī 24.60.

The *DB* renders *nahāpanaṃ* as "Ceremonial bathings" and gives in a footnote the meaning of the Sv: "Bathings, that is, of other people"; the *CBP* tr. "baigner" (bathing) corresponds to the significance of the term in the āyurvedic context.

¹⁷ *Tatra dvidham saṃśodhanaṃ - vamaṇaṃ virecanaṃ ca.*

Ḍalhaṇa's commentary to *Suśr* Sū 39.3.

arthaḥ, *adhobhāgaharāṇīti virecanāṇīti arthaḥ*, *śirovirecanāṇīti nasyaprayogena śirasthaṃ śleṣmānaṃ virecayanti srāvayantīti arthaḥ* (cleansing from the head means removing the phlegm of the head by means of the administration of drugs through the nose).¹⁸

(11) *kaṇṇatela* is explained in the Sv as boiling medicinal oil either for developing the ears or for removing ulcers (*kaṇṇānaṃ vaddhanatthaṃ vā vaṇaharaṇatthaṃ vā bhesajjatelapacanaṃ*). *Kaṇṇatela* seems to be the same as *karnapūraṇaṃ* of āyurvedic texts, i.e. filling the ears with medicinal oils etc. for curing ear ailments.¹⁹

(12) *nettatappana*, soothing of the eyes by pouring clarified butter mixed with lukewarm water into the cavities of the eyes and retaining it for a specified time is explained in detail in *Suśr* Ut 18, among the following treatments of eye diseases: *puṭapāka* (extraction of

¹⁸ See Ḍalhaṇa's commentary to *Suśr*, Sū 39.3,4,6.

The *DB* translates *vamana*, *virecana*, *uddhavirecana* and *adhovirecana* as "administering emetics and purgatives". The tr. in the *CBP* is more precise: "faire vomir" (cause vomiting), "faire purger" (cause purging), "chasser les impuretés par le haut" (evacuating impurities from above), "les chasser par le bas" (evacuating them from below). The term *sīsavirecana* is translated in the *DB* and the *CBP* respectively as: "purging people to relieve the head (that is by giving drugs to make people sneeze)", and "chasser celles qui sont dans la tête" (evacuating those [impurities] in the head). The explanation in the Sv of the five terms is: *vamanan ti yogaṃ datvā vamanakaraṇaṃ*, *virecanaṃ pi es' eva nayo*, *uddhavirecanaṃ ti uddhaṃ dosānaṃ nīharaṇaṃ*, *adhovirecanaṃ ti adho nīharaṇaṃ*, *sīsavirecanaṃ ti sirovirecanaṃ*.

¹⁹ Cf. *karnaṃ prapūrayet samyak - snehādyair mātrayā bhiṣak/ noccaih śrutir na bādhīryaṃ syān nityaṃ karnapūraṇāt//* quoted in the *Vś*s, p.220.

The tr. of *kaṇṇatelaṃ* in the *DB* follows the explanation of the Sv: "Oiling people's ears (either to make them grow or to heal sores on them)". The *CBP* translates it as "préparer de l'huile pour l'oreille" (preparing oil for the ear), cf. *CPD* s.v.

medicinal fluid through a process of heating to be used as *tarpaṇa*), *seka* (sprinkling), *āścyotana* (eye-drops) and *añjana* (salves). The *Sv* explains it as oil for soothing the eyes (*akkhitappanatelaṃ*).²⁰

(13) *natthukamma* (S., Skt *nasya*), administration of medicinal substances, mainly oil through the nose (cf. *sirovirecana* above).²¹ The explanation given in the *Sv*, "*telaṃ yojetvā natthukaraṇaṃ*", agrees with the description in *Suśr*. Vaidya K.L. Bhishagratna (see *Suśr* in the list of abbreviations) translates *nasya* as "snuff" and *sirovirecana* as "errhines".

(14) *Suśr* describes *añjana* as being of three forms: pills, liquid and powder,²² to be applied with a rod (*śalākā*) which, like the receptacle of the *añjana*, should be made of one of the following materials: gold, silver, horn, copper, *vaiḍūrya* precious stone (diamond), bell metal and iron (Ut 18.61). The *Sv* explains *añjana* as "alkaline salve capable of removing two or three layers (of the eyes)" (*dve vā tīṇi vā paṭalāni nīharāṇasamatthaṃ khārañjanaṃ*).²³

(15) *paccañjana* (Skt *pratyañjana*), according to the *Sv*, is "a cooling medicinal salve prepared through successive soaking"

²⁰ The term is translated in the *CBP* as "des lavages d'yeux" (eyewashes) and in the *DB* as "Satisfying people's eyes (soothing them by dropping medicinal oils into them)".

²¹ *auśadham auśadhasiddho vā sneho nāsikābhyāṃ dīyata iti nasyam. tad dvividhaṃ śirovirecanaṃ snehanaṃ ca. Suśr Ci 40.21*. Details are given in the same text up to śloka 57. See also *Ah Sū 20*.

The *DB* and the *CBP* have the same meaning: "Administering drugs through the nose" and "des drogues à respirer par le nez" respectively.

²² *gutikārasacūrṇāni trividhāny añjanāni tu* (Ut 18.58).

²³ *Añjana* is translated in the *DB* as "applying collyrium to the eyes", in the *CBP* as "des collyres" (collyriums).

(*bhāvanīya-sītala-bhesajjañjanaṃ*).²⁴ *Pratyañjana* is explained by Ḍalhana as a secondary salve (*yad añjanasyānuprayujyate, tat pratyañjanaṃ, Suśr Ut 17.36*). Bhishagratna further clarifies the term as a "secondary eye-salve (which) is an antidote for the over-use of an Anjana" (Vol.III, p.73, footnote).

(16) *sālākya* (Skt *śālākya*) is that section of the eightfold science of medicine (*aṣṭāṅga* Āyurveda) dealing with the treatment of diseases over the clavicle such as ears, eyes, mouth, nose.²⁵

(17) *sallakattika*, described in the *Sv* only as "*sallakatta-vejjakammaṃ*", probably refers to *śalyacikitsā* of the *aṣṭāṅga*, explained in the *Suśr* (Sū 1.7.i) as the removal of extraneous matter such as particles of grass, wood, stone, dust, metals, clay, bone, nails, pus from ulcers, as well as the use of surgical instruments, the application of alkalis (caustics) and fire (cauterisation), along with the diagnosis of ulcers.²⁶ Out of all surgical instruments and appliances, alkali (*kṣāra*) is

²⁴ The tr. in the *DB* is "giving medical ointment for the eyes", that in the *CBP*: "des onguents" (unguents). *Bhāvanā* (verb *bhāvayati*) meaning repeated soaking in medicinal liquids, is rendered "*Bhāvanā* saturation" by Bhishagratna (Vol.III, p.73 and passim). On both *pratyañjana* and *bhāvanā*, cf.

pratyañjanaṃ srotasi yat samutthitaṃ

kramād rasakṣīraghrteṣu bhāvitam/ Suśr Ut 17.36ab.

Bhāvanā is explained as "*dravapadārthena punaḥ punaḥ auśadhamāraṇe śoṣaṇe ca*" in the *Vś* (p.748).

²⁵ *śālākyaṃ nāmordhvajatrugatānāṃ śravaṇa-nayana-vadana-ghrāṇādi-saṃśritānāṃ vyādhināṃ upaśamanārthaṃ* (*Suśr Sū 1.7.ii*). Both the *DB* and the *CBP* translate this term as the treatment of eye diseases ("Practising as an oculist" in the former and "exercer l'ophthalmologie" in the latter).

²⁶ The *DB* and the *CBP* rendering of the term as surgery ("practising as a surgeon", "la chirurgie" respectively) agrees with "*śalya*" in the *aṣṭāṅga*: *śalyaṃ nāma vividha-trṇa-kāṣṭha-pāṣaṇa-pāṃśu-loha-loṣṭāsthī-bālanakha-pūyāsrāva-duṣṭa-vraṇāntargarbha-śalyoddharaṇārthaṃ, yantra-śastra-kṣārāgni-prañidhāna-vraṇaviniścayārthaṃ ca. Suśr Sū 1.7.i.*

considered as the best and cautery (*agni*) as the better (the good being, by the way, the application of leeches, *jalaūkāvidhi*).²⁷ The two therapeutics *kṣārapākavidhi* and *agnikarmavidhi* are described in detail in *Suśr Sū* 11-12 and *Ah Sū* 30; (*jalaūkāvidhi* in *Suśr Sū* 13 and *Ah Sū* 26.35-45).

(18) *dāraṭatikicchā*, "*komārabhaccavejjakammaṃ*" in the *Sv*, is the *kaumārabhṛtya* (paediatrics) branch of the *aṣṭāṅga* Āyurveda, including the nursing of infants, the purification of mothers' milk, the pacification of diseases caused by vitiated mothers' milk and the evil influence of malignant stars and spirits, which are classified by *Ḍalhaṇa* as bodily and external causes.²⁸

(19) *mūlabhesajjānaṃ anuppādānaṃ* is explained in the *Sv* as "*kāyatikiccham*". This term in the *aṣṭāṅga* means general diseases, explained by *Suśruta* as "the appeasement of diseases of all parts of the body such as fever, internal haemorrhage, dehydration, insanity, skin diseases, urinary affection, diarrhoea."²⁹

²⁷ *śāstrānuśāstrebyah kṣārah pradhānatamah*, *Suśr Sū* 11.3; *kṣārād agnir garīyān*, *Ibid.* *Sū* 12.3.

²⁸ *kaumārabhṛtyaṃ nāma kumārabharana-dhātṛikṣiradoṣa-saṃśodhanārtham duṣṭas tanya-grahasamutthānāṃ ca vyādhinām upaśamanārtham*. (*Suśr Sū* 1.7.v). *Ḍalhaṇa*'s commentary: *tatra duṣṭas tanyena śārīrāḥ, duṣṭa-graheṇāgantavaḥ*.

The *DB* and the *CBP* have the same meaning, "practising as a doctor for children" in the former and "la pédiatrie" in the latter.

²⁹ *kāyacikitsā nāma sarvāṅgasamśritānām vyādhinām jvara-raktapitta-śoṣonmādāpasmāra-kuṣṭha-mehātisārādīnām upaśamanārtham*. (*Suśr Sū* 1.7.iii). This is translated in the *DB* as "administering roots and drugs" and in the *CBP* as "appliquer de nouveaux remèdes consistant en racines" (application of new remedies consisting of roots). *Bhishagratna* (Vol.I, p.3 footnote) explains: "The term *Kāya* literally signifies the vital heat or fire which runs through the entire system, and hence the *Kāya-chikitsā* deals with diseases which may gradually invade the root-principles of a living human organism".

(20) *osadhīnaṃ paṭimokkha* is explained in the *Sv* as "*khārādīni datvā tadanurūpe khane gate tesam apanayanaṃ*" (applying alkali etc. and removing them when the time for them has passed). These are obviously the methods of treatment known as *khāraggividhi*, referred to in § 17 above.³⁰

It appears from the above discussion that *santikamma* (= *bhūta-vidyā*), *vassakamma* (= *vājīkaraṇa*), *sālākiya*, *sallakattika* (= *śalya-cikitsā*), *dāraṭatikicchā* (= *kaumārabhṛtya*) and *mūlabhesajja* (= *kāya-cikitsā*) fall within the eightfold division of Āyurveda. On the other hand, *vamana*, *virecana*, *natthukamma* and *sirovirecana* form part of the fivefold therapies (*pañcakarma*³¹) of āyurvedic texts. The application of alkali and cautery (*kṣārāgnividhi*) also has an important place among āyurvedic remedies.

As these basic terms of āyurvedic therapy are found in two Theravāda Buddhist canonical texts, it may be deduced that those medical practices were already known during the time of Gotama Buddha, for according to the Theravāda tradition, the *Brahmajāla-* and *Sāmaññaphala-suttas* were the foremost among those authenticated at the first council held in Rājagaha, immediately after the *mahāparinirvāṇa*.³²

³⁰ This is translated in the *DB* as "administering medicines in rotation", and in the *CBP* as "contre-carrer l'effet de médicaments" (counteracting the effect of medicaments).

³¹ *amana* (emesis), *vireka* (purgation), *nasya* (administration of medicinal drugs through the nose), *nirūha* or *āsthāpana* (decoctional enema) and *anuvāsana* (oleaginous enema).

Cf. *vamanaṃ recanaṃ nasyaṃ nirūhaṃ cānuvāsanaṃ / jñeyaṃ pañcavidhaṃ karma vidhānaṃ tasya gadyate // Siddhasāra*, ed. R.E. Emmerick, Wiesbaden 1980, 30.1.

³² See K.R. Norman, *op. cit.*, p.7. The date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is generally considered as 544 B.C. in South Asian Buddhist countries. However, this date has been subject to controversy and suggestions have been made to

These therapeutics, as seen above, are dealt with in the *Suśr*, which forms part of the major triad (*vrddhatrayī*) of āyurvedic literature. According to the late Professor Jean Filliozat, the *Suśr* may be dated back to the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, before coming down to us in a fixed form in the first centuries of the post-Christian era. He also shows that the Suśruta school was anterior to the *Car* for the reason that the latter refers to the specialists of the Dhanvantari school which was the same as the Suśruta school.³³ This fact is pointed out by Bhishagratna, too, (Vol.I, p.xi). Filliozat's thesis that the *Suśr* would have been in the making in the "last centuries of the pre-Christian era" is thus supported by the passage in the *Brahmajāla-* and *Sāmaññaphala-suttas*.

This passage also raises the question of the Buddhist attitude to medicine in that the medical practices under discussion have been described as disdained means of wrongful livelihood. This question has been answered by T.W. Rhys Davids in his remark that there was objection to Buddhist monks' practising medicine "as a means of livelihood", but they might do so "gratis for themselves or for their coreligionists, and laymen might do so for gain" (*DB*, p.26)³⁴. Rhys Davids' statement finds support in the immense contribution made by Buddhists to the development of Indian medicine. Celebrated āyurvedic authors like Agniveśa, Caraka, Vāgbhaṭa, Nāgārjuna and those of the iatrochemical school, according to the French medical practitioner and

bring it down to the 5th or even the 4th century B.C. See Heinz Bechert, *The dating of the historical Buddha*, (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, IV,1-2, Göttingen 1991, 1992).

³³ *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles*, 2nd ed., Paris 1975, pp.11-12.

³⁴ See also my paper, "Buddhism and traditional medicine in Sri Lanka", to appear shortly in *Pacific World*, Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley.

Indologist, Palmyr Cordier, were Buddhists.³⁵ Kenneth G Zysk adduces the theory that traditional Indian medicine developed among the mendicant ascetics or *śramaṇas* and that "Buddhism played a key role in the advancement of Indian medicine through its institutionalization of medicine in the Buddhist monastery".³⁶ To these observations may be added, in conclusion, that of R.C. Majumdar, a historian coming from an āyurvedic background: "In medicine, the contributions of Buddhist scholars are of great significance and outstanding value. Nāgārjuna, the medical author, the later Nāgārjuna (who composed many treatises on *rasacikitsā*, metallurgy and alchemy), Vāgbhaṭa, many of the Siddha authors of the iatrochemical school, and nearly all the medical missionaries who carried Indian medical science into Tibet, Central Asia, China and Ceylon were followers of the Buddhist faith".³⁷

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³⁵ Palmyr Cordier, *Quelques données nouvelles à propos des traités médicaux sanscrits antérieurs au XIII^e siècle*, Calcutta 1899, p.3; *Id.*, *Vāgbhaṭa et l'Aṣṭāṅghridayasamhitā, Études sur la médecine hindoue*, Besançon 1896, p.8. Both these texts are reproduced in Arion Rosu, *Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier, Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1989, pp.393ff., 419ff.

³⁶ *Asceticism and healing in ancient India, Medicine in the Buddhist monastery*, New York Oxford 1991, p.118.

³⁷ *A concise history of science in India*, eds. D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen, B.V. Subbarayappa. New Delhi 1989 reprint, p.220f.

ABBREVIATIONS
(Publications)

- Ah* = *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*, ed. Hariśāstrī Parādkar, Varanasi 1982, reprint.
- CBP* = *Canon bouddhique pāli*, texte et traduction, Suttapiṭaka, Dīghanikāya, par Jules Bloch, Jean Filliozat, Louis Renou, Tome I, Fascicule I, Paris 1949. (Based on the Cambodian ed., compared with the PTS and Burmese eds.).
- Car* = *Carakasamhitā*, ed. P.V. Sharma, 2 Vols., Varanasi 1981, 1983.
- DB* = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Tr. T.W. and C.A.F Rhys Davids, Pt.I, London 1989 (SBB Vol.II).
- DN* = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol.I, PTS 1890.
- Sv* = *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Pt. I, PTS 1886.
- Suśr* = *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. Jāḍavji Trikmaji Ācārya and Nārāyan Rām Ācārya, 2 Vols., Bombay 1938; K.L. Bhishagratna, Tr. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 3 Vols., 3rd ed., Varanasi 1981.
- Vśś* = *Vaidyakaśābdasindhu*, ed. Umeśacandra Gupta, 3rd reprint, Varanasi 1983.

(General)

- Ci* = *Cikitsāsthāna*
S. = *Sinhala*
Si = *Siddhisthāna*
Sū = *Sūtrasthāna*
Ut = *Uttarasthāna*

Studies in Vinaya technical terms I-III

These are intended to be the first three of a series of “microographies”, the purpose of which is to bring together and sort out the relevant Pā. data about a given term occurring in Vin, Kkh, Sp, and in secondary literature. “Vinaya technical term” is taken here in a broad sense, including, on the one hand, what are *stricto sensu* non-technical terms, such as those designating, or referring to, *realia* dealt with in Vinaya rules — e.g., *cīvāra*; on the other hand, technical terms shared both by Vinaya texts and by other Indian legal literature — as exemplified recently by Schopen, Business. Sub-commentaries and compendia (Vjb, Vin-vn, Utt-vn, Khuddas, Mūla-s, and, when eventually available to me, Sp-t, Vmv, Kkh-t) will be resorted to only when deemed helpful. BHS and Skt. parallels are not meant to be exhaustive, but to provide a convenient set of references for further comparisons with the Pā. data; except when required by the complexity of the data involved, they will not be discussed *per se*, but only insofar as they help us to understand the form, meaning(s), or range of application of a Pā. term. Chin. and Tib. data — derived from secondary literature in European languages — will be resorted to only exceptionally.

The application of Thv(M) prescriptions to *both* monks and nuns will be mentioned only where and when explicitly stated in a text, so as to reflect the relative scarcity of data concerning nuns, and above all to avoid unwarranted extrapolations from the *Bhikkhu-* to the *Bhikkhunī-vinaya* on the excuse that the latter is a truncated version of the former, from which full details about the organisation of former nuns' communities could allegedly be retrieved safely *ex silentio*.

Skt. references are according to school, in the following order: Sa, Mū, Mā, Dha, then — should the occasion arise — Mī, any others, and unidentified schools; texts belonging to one and the same school are